3/0

# THE
# Political Apology;
## OR,
# CANDID REASONS,
## For NOT taking PART with
## The Preſent PUBLIC SYSTEM, &c.

[ Price One Shilling. ]

# THE

# Political Apology;

OR,

## CANDID REASONS,

for taking PART with

THE

# Political Apology;

OR,

# CANDID REASONS,

For NOT taking PART with

## The Preſent PUBLIC SYSTEM,

In a LETTER from

A MAN who never had a PLACE, to a Right Honourable GENTLEMAN who has lately accepted of an HIGH OFFICE.

LONDON:

Printed for J. WILKIE in St, Paul's Church-Yard;
And may be had at the Pamphlet-Shops in London and Weſtminſter. 1765.

Pr 2027.65.7240

HARVARD COLLEGE LIBRARY
MAY, 28, 1913
SUBSCRIPTION FOR
ENGLISH HISTORICAL TRACTS

# THE POLITICAL APOLOGY, &c.

*My dear Sir,*

I May now ſuppoſe you to have ſome Reſpite from the agreeable Fatigue which the numerous Congratulations of your Friends, and the Duties of your Court-Attendance, neceſſarily brought upon you at your firſt Entrance into Buſineſs; you have now leiſure, and you are not perhaps without Curioſity to know the Opinion of your Country Acquaintance, and, if I have hitherto avoided troubling you, it was rather from a fear of offending, by an Intruſion of ſerious Reflections upon you, amidſt the firſt Exultations upon your Succeſs, than from Want of Matter for cool Deliberation, or of an anxious Concern that we might underſtand each other aright. The unreſerved Freedom with which we have ever com-

 municated

municated our Sentiments upon Subjects of every Kind, can, I flatter myſelf, require no Apology for this Addreſs; and you are yet too new in Office to aſſume either an Air of Forgetfulneſs, or Diſdain of the Advices of an old Acquaintance. It might poſſibly be expected, from the active Part, which I thought it became me to take in Oppoſition laſt Winter, that either ſome Department of Government would have fallen to my Share, or that at leaſt I ſhould contribute to the Support of the Power of thoſe Gentlemen, whoſe Principles, when out of Office, I had ſo cordially adopted: I will rely upon you for doing Juſtice to my Political Ambition, that it had none of thoſe Flights which they, who ſaw my Eagerneſs, might ſuſpect; and I will own fairly to you, ſo partial am I to myſelf, that upon the preſent Diſagreement, which may happen with you in Politicks, I ſhall attribute the Difference to you—I view the Objects in the ſame unbiaſſed Manner I did; you ſee them in the different Lights of *In* and *Out*; I truſt, however, that our Candor will be ſufficient to excuſe what it cannot

bring

bring itſelf to approve: You know I diſapprove the Grounds and Engagements upon which you and your Colleagues accepted of the high Poſts, to which you were ſo unexpectedly named: When I left you in the Spring, the Reports of Diſunion among the then Miniſters, and of the Intrigues in the Cloſet, began daily to loſe Ground: You was then more and more confirmed in your Diſapprobation of that Influence, which interfered not indeed in Public Meaſures, but contented itſelf with a Sort of Backſtair Conſequence, and was ſhewn juſt ſufficiently to alarm its Competitors, and to ſtagger ſome of the moſt impatient of its Enemies: You honeſtly expreſſed your Apprehenſions of the Increaſe of ſo fatal a Power, which ſeemed exerted only to divide the true and cordial Friends of this Country, and to ſubject, by that Means, the whole Domination as well Foreign and Domeſtick, to its own Rule and Guidance. You was never privy to any of thoſe Advances which ſome of your eager Aſſociates had ſo unworthily made, to the Man whom they pretended to abjure. *We* lamented, (for I will take

ſome Merit to myſelf, in having fortified you in theſe Sentiments,) the unhappy Complexion of the Times; the exhauſted Situation of the Country; the ſad Scarcity of faithful and upright Servants for the Public; the inſolent Oppreſſions of the Favourite, which were ſtriding apace, with an Intemperance and an Indiſcretion that beſpoke a quick Decay;—But above all, the ſordid Venality and Neceſſity of Men's Situations; which, without leaving them any Scope for the following their honeſt Judgments, continually hurried them on to temporary Intereſts: An Addition to our Concern, aroſe from the profligate Eaſe, and unembaraſſed Readineſs, with which our modern Politicians ſay and unſay, approve, explode, aſſume, contradict, reaſſume Principles, and Practices deſtructive of each other; and in Caſes, where the Event is not merely their own perſonal Credit and Character, but upon which the Safety and Well-being of their Country, and of every Thing that is dear in it, muſt ultimately depend.

In

In theſe Sentiments I left you, without the leaſt Idea that an Occaſion would ſo ſoon be given you of carrying into Execution in Office, what, when out of Power, you had declared to be ſo abſolutely neceſſary. The unſettled Situation of Things, and the Increaſe of that Confuſion, which every Poſt informed us of, gave us indeed a wide Field for political Speculation, but furniſhed at the ſame Time too much Matter for ſerious Alarm and Apprehenſion. The Relapſe of Power into the Hands of the Old Miniſtry, confirmed me in my Conjectures, that the Favourite had not Reſolution to go through with what he had undertaken: I am perſuaded, it may perhaps be a ſingular Opinion, that if he had proceeded in his firſt Attempt, there would have been an End, by this Time, of his Influence in this Country; ſome Reſolutions of Vigour have been ſaid to be actually concerted, and would, if propoſed, have received a very numerous Sanction; nor could his moſt abject Dependants have delayed the Deſtruction of their ambitious Maſter: It was at this Time, I will own to you, that

I be-

I began to think more favourably of the common Cauſe, I mean the Common-Weal, for which, I truſt, we all honeſtly contended, and leſs adverſely to the Miniſtry, who had juſt pulled down that Scotch Banner, which with ſuch inſulting Triumph had been ſpread over a great Part of theſe united Kingdoms. I began to perceive that we now meant the ſame Thing, and determined, even in my private ſituation, to ſet my Shoulders to the Annihilation of that Influence, which we had been the forwardeſt to condemn, and to repreſent as avowed, and ſubmitted to by our Opponents. Who was to ſhare the Bearſkin of the State, was a Point of much Indifference to me, and was much more proper for a Subject of future Diſcuſſion, when every fear of its being the Prey, as it had conſtantly been, of ſome third Invader, was totally removed.

In theſe Diſpoſitions I received continual Accounts, varying indeed in Form, but concluding in Subſtance, That a Change was determined at all Events; what Body of Men were to compoſe the Miniſtry

ſtill remained undecided; and the many Negotiations which enſued, ſerved only to convince me that private Prejudices are much more difficult to conquer than public Ideas and Prepoſſeſſions. At Length, however, the ſeveral Arrangements were made, and a Miniſter diſmiſſed (no great Encouragement to his Succeſſor, if indeed there is one yet fixed on) whoſe Ability and Integrity had reconciled even the intereſted Part of the Oppoſition, without ſo much as a Shadow of a Pretence, except that good Pleaſure, which it is decent to ſubmit to, but which it is not neceſſary to approve.

I have already explained the Ground upon which I began to alter my political Opinions; you will do me the Juſtice to recollect that I ſet out with you upon one Bottom; to oppoſe every Degree of that Influence, which, ſeparate from all Party whatſoever, I do fully believe to be moſt highly prejudicial to the true Intereſts of this Country, and which will in the End, if not rooted up betimes, plunge us into Calamities of the deepeſt and moſt afflictive

afflictive Kind. In theſe Sentiments, I have uniformly perſevered, tho' accompanied at Times by ſo ſmall a Number as expoſed me to the Imputation of Obſtinacy, not having with it that Proſpect of Succeſs, which thoſe who have other Motives than Opinion, require as a Spur to their Actions: It was therefore with uncommon Satisfaction, that I ſaw ſo conſiderable an Acceſſion to the Strength of our Party, as was likely to be derived from the Steps, which thoſe in Government had taken againſt the Favourite's B—r: This was a ſolemn Pledge to the Public, that they would no longer ſubmit to the Appearance of being influenced by the Scotch Thane, and on that Iſſue I joined them. You will eaſily comprehend, that when I ſay *I joined them*, I would be underſtood only to mean in Heart and Opinion. Whenever the Occaſion ſhall call for the Deciſion of my Conduct, if it ſhould be found different from what our long Acquaintance and Habitudes might lead you to expect or to wiſh it, you may aſſign to yourſelf, or to others, if any ſhould think it worth their while

to

to make an Enquiry about me, ſome ſuch reaſons as the following ones.

I can by no means engage to ſupport the preſent Adminiſtration, becauſe I diſlike the Principle on which they have accepted of their Offices; I dread the deſperate Hand which diſtributed the Power among them—I deteſt the Connection which they neceſſarily have with the Favourite, whether ſtipulated by private Compact, or ſubmitted to by unavoidable Implications. In ſhort, I fear the Profuſion of the D. of *N*——*e* and the unſkilful aukwardneſs of the Noviciates in G———t.—I have had too much Experience of the one, and too little of the other, for me to place my Confidence in them, and without my Confidence, I will freely ſay to you, they will never have my Vote: But to explain myſelf.

It cannot be neceſſary to inform you of the Situation in which our Party ſtood towards the Cloſe of the laſt Seſſion of Parliament. It is ſufficient for my preſent Purpoſe to remind you that none of thoſe Symptoms appeared,

which are uſually wont to precede great Miniſterial Revolutions:— The public Buſineſs was brought to a Period without a Difficulty; our own Numbers were daily leſſening; no Diſunion among our Opponents; Rumours indeed were daily ſpread (no uncommon Artifice of Party) that the great Atlas of the Political Machine was weary of ſupporting the Syſtem any longer, or, to continue ſomewhat of a Metaphor, was tired of ſtanding ſo long in the ſame Poſture. However, theſe Reports were afterwards juſtified by the Event; yet ſo little Concern had you in the Cauſes which contributed to it, that you did not even foreſee it; you have not therefore the Claim of Conqueſt to urge on the Behalf of your Acceptance. The Forts of Government were put into your Hands when you had not even ſo much as ſummoned them to ſurrender, nor made a Sally from your Trenches for ſome Weeks before; nay, the Garriſon was actually marching out, before you could collect a ſufficient Force to take Poſſeſſion of the ſeveral Batteries and ſtrong Holds

which

were to be delivered up. So ill concerted was your Intelligence, and ſo weakly did your Preparations from without keep Pace with the Treachery of thoſe within. But the leſs Reaſon you had from your own Strength to preſume on what has ſince happened, the greater are my Suſpicions that ſo large a Depoſite would not have been placed in your Hands without ſome Expectations of Reciprocity. I am not now talking of any Difficulties which might be ſtarted from that Quarter, to which the Propoſitions were made; I know too well the Avidity of many among you, heightned as it was, by the Recollection of their former Experiences of the Sweets of Government, to doubt of their overcoming every Obſtacle; but there can be but one Reaſon why the Favourite ſhould, all of a ſudden, diſgrace a ſet of Men who were odious becauſe reputed to be his Inſtruments; who had ſucceeded to a Burthen, which he was unable to ſupport, and ſubſtitute in their Room thoſe who were daily in the ſolemneſt Manner devoting him to Deſtruction. I

can

eaſily conceive why many who had been ſtarving in Oppoſition for two Years, ſhould as ſoon as the Door was a-jar at *St. James's*, thruſt in with all their Might; but I have not yet entertained ſo high an Idea of the cool Courage of the Noble Thane, as to imagine that he would deliberately open the Door to a Knot of Men, who had for two Years been declaring that their utmoſt Endeavours ſhould be employed to remove him from his Maſter's Preſence and Councils for ever. I know the Favourite's Raſhneſs, and that he is capable of forming Reſolutions, which the Event of half an Hour proves to be highly indiſcreet: But I know his Timidity too, and that he is as capable of retracting thoſe Reſolutions in the firſt Quarter of that Time, if he either thinks himſelf, or is adviſed to think that he is likely to ſuffer by them. Was his Lordſhip ſo regardleſs of his perſonal Intereſts, or ſo deeply read in the Patriotiſm of this Country, or ſo converſant with the Tempers and Characters he propoſed dealing with? Did he ſo

nicely

nicely eſtimate the Amount of all that Wrath and Execration, which in the Bitterneſs of Want and of Diſcontent, had been vented againſt him? or rather, was it not in the plain Way of Bargain and Sale; Power for Protection, Office for Submiſſion, Authority for Subſerviency: If not expreſſed, yet virtually implied? and before I finiſh this Addreſs, I queſtion not to prove that it has been literally fulfilled. Leaving this then for the Preſent, the actual Negociator of the late Change, has ſuch a Mixture of Deſparation and Intemperance in his Diſpoſition, that any Propoſition, coming from his Hand even unexamined, would impreſs on my Mind Uneaſineſs and Apprehenſion. I do not now enquire by what Means he was put into a Situation, which has enabled him to negociate, or how far it became his Rank and Character to be laying the greateſt Offices of the State at the Feet of ſuch a Variety of his Fellow-ſubjects; the Impropriety and Indecency of ſuch a Conduct, whatever they might be, was certainly far inferior to thoſe Reſentments,

ments: And yet theſe too were ſacrificed as we have been told, to the Good of the Public, while ſome State Infidels have not ſcrupled to ſtrip the Matter of all this Parade, and to ſtate the Fact ſimply, as of a leſſer Anger giving Way to a ſuperior Degree of that noble and very generous Paſſion. Sacrificed they certainly were, by the daily and nightly Conferences at *Hayes*; where the Great Commoner was ſo well aware of the Chicanery of Negociation, that he refuſed all intermediate Intercourſe, and declared roundly at once, that *none but Principals would be treated with*. Waving every Enquiry as to the Policy or the Fitneſs of this Treaty, the very Spirit with which it was undertaken was a ſufficient Reaſon with me for thinking it prejudicial to this Country, and ill adviſed for me to embark with a Man capable of having Recourſe to ſuch *deep Diſſimulation* for his Purpoſes.

Whenever I thought of the Situation of our domeſtic Government in laſt *June*, and the Confuſion laſted long enough

enough for it to become an Object of frequent and mature Conſideration; when I ſaw its Machine under the Guidance, and reſigned to the Diſpoſition of one impetuous violent Temper, it put me in mind of a Carriage which I uſed formerly to meet upon the *Windſor* Road; a Curricle by a Pair of High-bred Horſes, drawn along moſt furiouſly, while the Man, who ſhould have been the Driver, was reclined in the Carriage, always aſleep at all Hours in the Day, and the Reins lying upon the Horſes Necks; I never heard indeed that any dangerous Accident happened, but what ever Intreaties might be made to me, I ſhould beg to be excuſed either driving ſuch high-mettled Steeds, or at leaſt being ſaid to be driven by one, who had ſo implicit a Reliance upon his Horſes, as to leave them to themſelves, and ſo much Indifference or Indolence or Infirmity in his Compoſition as to ſleep during the whole Journey. It is difficult in common Life to ſee a Man giving Way to the Dictates of his unbounded Paſſion, without ſome Abhorrence of

the

Vice and a Mixture too of Commiſera-tion for the unhappy Objects of his Vengeance, which bears ſome Propor-tion to the Nature and Extent of the Miſchief that is done: But to ſee a Man of extenſive Sway exerting the Dregs of Life in order to give a freer Scope to his Reſentments; raiſing himſelf, as it were, from the Grave, to plunge his Country into Confuſion, to increaſe her Diſtreſſes already but too numerous. To ſee him inſenſible to the Calls of the Public, and, which is ſtill leſs frequent, un-moved by the Infirmities of his Nature, hurrying on to the Accompliſhment of a Purpoſe, which he has determined to execute by Inſtruments fit or unfit for his Deſigns, is a Species of Conduct for which no Name has as yet been invented, probably becauſe the Conduct was not ſuppoſed poſſible, which could ſacrifice the Peace and Quiet of three Kingdoms for half a Century, to the Gratification of a Reſentment, whoſe Duration might poſſibly be extended to three Months. I truſt that my Apprehenſions will not be treated as imaginary, becauſe the

Event

Event has but too fully juſtified the Foundation on which they were grounded. The Offence which has been taken by every moderate Man at his Interpoſition, who in the Cruelty of his Wrath has given up the Public to be Plundered by any One who thinks the Spoil worth his pains: The Degradation of thoſe Offices of Credit and Conſequence in the State, to whoſe Functions Reſpect and Reverence were attached, together with the Seals which were their Inſignia, and which were the Rewards of long Experience and of acknowledged Merit, by being hawked about to any Man, who had either the Confidence to think he was capable, or the Ambition to be willing to accept of them. The Violence offered to the ——. by thruſting on him a Set of Men, ſome of whom were perſonally diſagreeable to him, and had felt Marks of *his* Diſpleaſure, and all this without ſo much as an aſſigned Pretence, either for the Diſmiſſions of the former Miniſters, or for the Introduction of a Set of Men unacceptable in themſelves, unknown and unconfided in by the Pub-

lic, and unſkilled in the Buſineſſes of the ſeveral Departments allotted to them—Theſe, and many more, which might be enumerated, are Proofs but too ſubſtantial that there is Reaſon to be alarmed—Whether I conſider the Motive for his attempting any Changes, the variety of Methods by which he endeavoured to bring it about, the Plan on which he has at laſt formed an A——n; whether I view the Objects of his Reſentment, or of his Choice, I am confirmed in my Fears; need I add, that I am likewiſe deterred from giving my Support to ſuch a Syſtem.

But your Connexion with the Favourite is to me a ſtill ſtronger Motive for declining to take part with you. I well know the uncommon Induſtry with which this Objection has been endeavoured to be removed. The mutual Renunciations of each other which have paſſed between you: From the Favourite of his not having given you the Power; from yourſelves of your not having accepted it through his Channel.—The

Commonneſs

Commonneſs and Popularity of the Charge, has with ſome ſtood as a ſort of Reaſon againſt giving Credit to it, and the frequency with which it is urged, is now conſtrued by your doughty Champions, as an Invincible Argument why it cannot be true, and ought not to be believed at any rate. The only Point on which it has not been reſted, ſeems to be that from which the Appeal is undeniable; I mean your Conduct ſince you have been in Office: Setting aſide, therefore all Preſumptive Evidence, which, however, is not without its Concluſions, drawn as I have before mentioned, from the Time and manner in which the A——n devolved upon you, I reſt my Opinion on what you have not done.—You have not ſince your Acceſſion to Power, diſplaced any one Man of all that numerous Train which are liſted under the Favourite; I ſay, not a ſingle Man of that Party is diſplaced except a Noble Lord, who has declared himſelf to be extremely ſatisfied with what has been done; and a poor *Scotch* Baronet, who, tho' his Neceſſities may not ſuffer him to be

ſatisfied, yet it was a Caſe of Juſtice, I beg Pardon, of *Reſtitution*, for that it ſeems is the modiſh Word, as this was one of the numerous Inſtances in which the Thane had diſplayed his Power at the Expence of his Policy, his Humanity, and his Equity.

I was a Witneſs to thoſe daily Sallies of your Warmth and Reſentment againſt every Adherent to the Thane; or, in the Language of that Day——againſt Tories and *Scotified Engliſhmen*. I am now a Witneſs againſt you, that you have not as yet made good the ſolemn Proteſtations which you thought it neceſſary to make when out of Power, and perhaps as neceſſary not to keep now you are in Office; and, I have the greater Right to complain of this, becauſe I was one of thoſe, who, upon the Faith of thoſe Declarations, lent my *conſtant* and beſt Aſſiſtance towards the procuring you that Opportunity, which now it ſeems you do not think fit to uſe. I am ſenſible, indeed, that the Succeſs which enſued, was owing, in no degree, to any Endeavours of

mine,

mine, nor even of the whole Minority taken together: It may be ſaid, therefore, that I have no reaſon to call for the Performance of Words which might be the Effect of Reſentment, or the Political Language of a Party; a *feu d'artifice* which is played off at the grand Exhibition of Patriotiſm, as often as there is a Company aſſembled to ſee the Performance.—Or that, at leaſt, no Stipulations were made to me, and that as you are not indebted to me for your preſent Situations, you are not, nor mean to be reſponſible to me, for your Conduct in them—But do you owe nothing to the Public or to yourſelves? Can you Anſwer it to your own Feelings; are you ſo little anxious for the common Security, that you can, in ſpite of what the Favourite has done, of the many Breaches of public and private Faith with which he is daily upbraided, of the many Wounds he has given to the National Credit, Character, and Conſequence, by the Meaſures he has adviſed, by the Engagements he has broke, by the Adminiſtration he has changed? Can you, in

Defiance

Defiance of all this, ſtill hold Communion with the Favourite? Many are the Cauſes which have been aſſigned for ſo Extraordinary and Unnatural a Connexion—Your Enemies do not ſcruple to ſay, that you do not dare to turn out his Partizans. Your Friends are under the Neceſſity of confeſſing that you have not turned them out—Your Emiſſaries indeed, and well inſtructed I ſuppoſe they are, call it Moderation and Temper in availing yourſelves of a few able Perſons who were formerly under the Favourite's Protection. The Word *able* is uncommonly well choſen, as applicable to the Earls of *D*—, *L*— and *P*—, as the word *formerly* is particularly proper when intended to ſignify the Time at which Meſſrs. *E*—, *O*— and *D*— were protected by the Thane. You do not impoſe upon yourſelves by ſuch Language as this; but however this may be, I am ſure you cannot deceive others—I am well aware of the Plea of Neutrality, which is conſtantly made uſe of upon this Occaſion—The Favourite and his Junto, have taken extraordinary Pains to diſclaim all Interpoſition,

poſition, either in the Diſmiſſion of the late Miniſtry, or in the Eſtabliſhment of the Preſent. I have already given you my Reaſons why the former Part of this Aſſertion cannot be true; your Partiality to his Friends, and your not having made a ſingle Attempt towards the Leſſening of his Influence ſince you have had it in your Power, is a Confirmation of the latter.---You will eaſily obſerve, that I have contented myſelf with mentioning the Continuance of the Favourite's Influence as an Imputation on your Conduct, without branching into particular Inſtances and long Deductions of Facts, to prove ſuch Influence pernicious. There is hardly a Man of this Kingdom who is ſenſible of what he feels at this Day, but knows and curſes the bitter Root from which ſo many Miſchiefs have been derived. But it was particularly unneceſſary to ſtate Facts of this Nature to you, who have ſo pathetically lamented, and ſo accurately deſcribed the ſad Reſults of the Favourite's Power: The

The Enumeration of them would have been little more than a Repetition of the Topics on which you and your Colleagues in Office have ſo often expatiated, and if you have not yet ſhewn that they are ſtill preſerved in your Memories, it is not ſurely from Forgetfulneſs: Whatever your Connections may be with the Noble Favourite, whether your Stipulations are expreſſed or implied, tacitly underſtood, or moſt ſecretly ſworn to, the Event will be the ſame, both as to his religious Obſervance of Compacts, and as to the Light in which you will be conſidered by your Fellow-ſubjects. He will keep his Engagements as long as his Intereſt, his Ambition, his Caprice, or *J—hny H———me*, ſhall adviſe him ſo to do, and the only Comfort you will have for the Pains of your Credulity is, that he has uſed abler Men worſe: Our political *Jupiter* laughs at ſuch Perjuries: The Generality of your Countrymen will loſe all Wonder that you were deceived, in their Indignation of your having truſted him; and you will

have

have the Satisfaction of having heaped on yourſelves that Weight of public Odium, which every Man muſt bear, who attempts to ſupport him: Nor will the Idea of Neutrality be at all more ſerviceable to your Cauſe, or more favourable to your Continuance in Office: He who could break every Tie with a Set of Men, who took upon themſelves the arduous Taſk of Government, when he thought proper to abdicate and to deſert his ——, will not have much Difficulty in croſſing thoſe whom he has put in as the temporary Inſtruments of his Reſentments: Believe me, this is not the Language of Spleen or of Melancholy: Conſult your own Experience but for four Years laſt paſt, and recollect the Variety of Shapes in which that perturbed Spirit has contrived to haunt and harraſs this poor Country. How many Parties and Sets of Men he has cajoled, tried, ſpurned, exalted, debaſed, abuſed, and deceived. How many S———s of S——e have been appointed within that Period? Were there not among theſe,

Men who had conferred political Obligations of the higheſt Kind upon him; who had accepted of that Office from Motives of perſonal Friendſhip, which he took Care to pay within a Month, a little Month, with the moſt notorious and ſignal Diſgraces that it was in his Power to inflict? What Reaſon have you to expect that you will meet with better Treatment? May you not rather fear, that when he has accompliſhed what he thinks the Maſter-piece of his Policy, the ſeparating you from your Connections, he will not ſcruple to give you up? I ſpeak thus far in Point of Prudence, and from that general Opinion which prevails, that the Syſtem now formed cannot hold: What is next to take place it may not be ſo eaſy to aſcertain, or in what Diſguiſes the Favourite's arbitrary Humours are next to diſturb the Peace of theſe Kingdoms; but thus far I will venture to ſay, that no Plan of A——n can be ſettled till ſome effectual Steps are taken to remove the Author of our Political Confuſions:

What-

Whatever Language the Neceſſities of ſome Men, and the temporiſing Diſpoſitions of others may induce them to hold at preſent, you are ſadly miſtaken if you think to meet with an efficient Support: Your very Government brought with it into Life the very Seeds of it's Decay: Your Introduction into Office is an Event that muſt render the Continuance of A——ns, for ſome Time to come, precarious: That Part of Mankind, whoſe Concurrence is worth maintaining, do not ſuddenly form Connections, or detach themſelves from them, when once they have been formed. I know there are Vermin of every Government, ready to baſk in any Sunſhine, who have chriſtened their Subſerviency to every Miniſter, by the neutral Name of Indifference to all: But you will no more depend on the Aſſiſtance of ſuch as theſe than you would on their Diſintereſtedneſs:——On whom do you rely then, on the Favourite? He neither can nor will ſupport you for any Length of Time. On the great Commoner? The

unwarrantable Uſe already made of his Name, thrown out and hawked about to enſnare Men into Compliance, and to ſwell your Liſt of Acceptants, has perhaps ſet that at a greater Diſtance than his own Inclinations to have joined you, might have otherwiſe done:—I pretend to no Secrets: It was publickly diſcourſed and believed, during the laſt Negotiation, that the great Commoner's *only* Obſtacles aroſe from the Want of the Conſent of his noble Kinſman, who with a Spirit and a Conſiſtency, well becoming his high Birth, and former Profeſſions, refuſed to engage in any Syſtem of A———n, wherein the Favourite was concerned. The Objections were ſaid to be, and they were publicly repeated, that he did not ſee any Plan formed for carrying on the K—'s Buſineſs in the Houſe of C———s, and his other Objections were of ſo tender and delicate a Nature, that he would not give his Maſter the Trouble of hearing them. I moſt heartily wiſh the Public would do juſtice to the true Patriotiſm

triotiſm of this noble Lord, and that while he has the Demerit with the —— of having withſtood the Favourite, he might have the Merit with the People, to which he has ſuch an unqueſtionable Right, of having proved ſuperior to the moſt ſeducing Offers that a Minion had it in his Power to make, from a full Determination never to ſubmit to that Influence which he is convinced is ſo prejudicial to the true Intereſts of his Countrymen.

But could the Thane's Support, or his Neutrality, if you think it a more oſtenſible Word, be more ſecurely relied on than you ought to flatter yourſelf from paſt Experience, what Advantage is to be derived to you from the Acceſſion of his G---e and his hungry Followers? I can eaſily conceive why he ſhould readily catch at an Opportunity of quartering his famiſhed Burrough Jobbers and S——x Dependants on the moſt Lucrative Civil Offices;

Offices; and of paying the Wages of his Servants, and the Attendance of his Tradeſmen with the Emoluments of Public Employs. But I do not ſo readily ſee the Reaſon why you were ſo eager to join a Man, whoſe Profuſion Supercedes every Attempt towards Oeconomy; whoſe extenſive Dealings pre-occuyy every Vacancy, Civil and Eccleſiaſtical; whoſe Miniſterial Life is a continued Scene of ſhifting temporary Expedients, and whoſe natural one is too frail to promiſe long Continuance.---What Strength, or what Credit is to be derived to you from ſuch an Alliance, I don't comprehend: The Payment of their reſpective Salaries to thoſe who had been Diſmiſſed by the Noble Thane from the Day of their Diſmiſſion, muſt be a Sovereign Remedy for the preſent State of the Civil Liſt. If perchance any Obſervations are made upon theſe, and many other Topics of the ſame Nature, the conſtant Anſwer given is, that the Noble M---ſs

is

is utterly averſe to every Proceeding of this Kind, but that his G---e inſiſted upon it, it ſhould be ſo:

I ſhall not attempt to diſtribute the exact quantity of Cenſure and Diſgrace that will fall to the Lot of the reſpective Members of the A———n; but without arrogating to myſelf much of the Spirit of Prophecy, I will venture to foretell, that if you ſtill continue your Protection to the Favourite and his Creatures; your Forbearance of your utmoſt Endeavours to annihilate his Influence; your Adoptions of every deſperate Idea which the D— of —— may ſuggeſt, and your Conceſſions to every Preſcription which his Grace of —— may inſiſt on, you will loſe the Confidence of the People, the Support of every honeſt Man, and even that Patronage which unworthy Submiſſions may obtain for a Time, but which no Compliances can

ſecure

ſecure againſt the Caprice of his Diſpoſition.

You have now, Sir, the whole of what I meant to offer you as my Excuſe for thinking differently upon our preſent Political Situation; in the doing of which, if I have mixed Advice, you will impute it to the Warmth of my Friendſhip, rather than to the Deſire of dictating. If ſome Parts of it appear too ſtrongly ſtated, they are ſoft indeed when compared with what the Facts themſelves can juſtify, or with what is generally ſaid and believed without Doors. I have confined myſelf to what undoubtedly appears, and have made uſe of none of thoſe inflammatory Topics, which many Party Writers draw from the *future* Meaſures which they aſcribe to you: I know of no Foreign Meaſures which you have taken, nor of any Domeſtic ones, but ſuch as by their proſcriptive Nature, will tend to inflame the

Minds

Minds of Men, unhappily but too much exasperated already.

I have written this Address to you, in Vindication of no past Ministers, nor in the Contemplation of any future ones. In the present distracted State of things, I protest I know not whom to wish for: The Language of every Denomination amongst us, whether from the Heart or not, must be, that a Spirit of Union and Firmness; of Ability, Integrity, and Independance, were never more necessary than at present. But can we hope for Union, when instead of two or three Parties, we are now sub-divided into twenty? Or for Firmness, when the best intentioned M——y stand on the sandy Foundation of the Favourite's Caprice; which, without the Descent of the Rains, or the beating of the Floods, treacherously gives way of itself, and buries in

its Ruins the faireſt Superſtructure? Are we to look for Ability from Veterans wedded to ſhifting momentary Expedients, or from Noviciates in every Preliminary to Buſineſs?---Are we to expect Integrity from old Men hackneyed in Corruption, or from young Men harraſſed by Neceſſity? Will Independence be the Reſult of the Extravagance, the Ambition, and the Vanity of our Times? I pretend to no great Skill in Political Aſtrology; I will not ſcruple to ſay however, what few will venture to deny, that the Aſpect of our preſent Stars is exceedingly malign——That our Fate is ſituated in very unfortunate Houſes, and that the Line of National Tranquility, croſſed as it is, and interſected by ſeveral diſaſtrous Circumſtances, does not promiſe a long Continuance: In this Perſuaſion, you will not wonder that I ſhould decline giving that Sanction, inconſiderable as it is, which one well inten-

intentioned Man can give, to what it is fashionable to call I suppose, on Account of the Poverty of our Language, a System; and that I should contribute as far as an Individual's Endeavours can contribute, to free these unhappy Kingdoms from being any longer the Sport and Insult of a rash, timid, haughty, and treacherous Favourite.

FINIS.